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VOLUME XXIV, No. 17

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1931

WHOLE No. 654

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CICERO, IN CATILINAM 3.14

At the close of Cicero, In Catilinam 3.14 we find the following sentence:

Atque ea lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta coniuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica conservata reliquorum mentes sanari posse arbitaretur.

This sentence has given trouble to a former pupil of mine, which was voiced in a recent letter to me (I paraphrase and condense at first): "The School editions say that the *ut*-clause is a clause of result. If this is right, the sense is, in general, 'The senators were so kind in spirit that they thought...'." The writer went on as follows:

Do you not think the passage could be explained thus? (a) Take *ut* with the indicative to mean 'as', 'since'; (b) the subjunctive could then be taken as a sort of indirect quotation, just as *quod*, 'because', is often used with the subjunctive in an indirect quotation; (c) that would give this translation, 'The senators followed this lenient course because they believed that', etc.

I give here, in somewhat altered form, my reply to these suggestions.

You are wrong and the editors of Cicero are right about this passage. The first thing to notice is that *ea* sets the keynote or tone of the whole passage. It means, here, what *that* means when I say 'I was *that* angry I could not talk'. In a word, *ea* here is an instance of a common and effective way of saying what is most frequently expressed by *tanta*. *Is* plus *ut* plus subjunctive is a common enough formula, involving an *ut*-clause of result. You read exactly the right meaning into the sentence when you took it to mean 'The senators were so kind in spirit that', etc.

Now, the difficulty that is bothering you comes through the introduction of the verb *arbitror* into the subjunctive clause. Logically that verb has no place in the *ut*-clause of result. Cicero's general idea could be most simply expressed by some such combination as the following: *Atque ea lenitate senatus est usus ut ex... domesticorum hostium novem <tantum, 'only'> homines perditissimos puniret, 'That ('Such', 'That great', 'So wonderful') was the leniency used by the Senate that, as a result of its gentleness, out of... it punished only...' But another idea crowded its way into Cicero's mind, namely that the punishment of only nine men (as against e. g. the wholesale slaughter of the days of Marius and Sulla) would work the salvation of the State. He could have got this new idea in easily by adding to my form above the following: *itaque <'and so', 'and as a result'> rem publicam servaret mentesque reliquorum sanaret, (or, with an ablative absolute, re publica conservata mentes reliquorum sanaret).* But it struck Cicero that to say that the rest*

were cured was counting one's chickens before they were hatched, and so he hedged by inserting *arbitraretur*.

I can see why Cicero said *ea*, not *tanta*, *lenitate*; he wanted to use *tanta* twice immediately afterward. The word *tali* would have denoted quality, not quantity, of mercy; quantity is here more important. Quality is not so clearly expressed by *ea* as it would have been set forth by *tali*.

Atque at the beginning of the whole sentence is important. That word is used to introduce something of more importance than what precedes, no matter how important the preceding is. The whole preceding sentence sets forth a very mild series of decrees or resolutions passed by the Senate, or rather mild parts of one such resolution. Nothing severe surely, at least as compared with what Cicero would no doubt have liked, the execution of these men, had been voted by the Senate.

The sentence then means, 'And in fact <*Atque*> so great was the leniency of the Senate that the Senate felt that by the punishment of nine men only out of this whole enormous... the commonwealth could be saved and the minds and hearts of the rest could be set right'.

Of course by putting the idea of saving the commonwealth in a subordinate grammatical form and putting the curing of the *mentes* of the rest into the main grammatical formula Cicero gets an anticlimax.

The sentence is, then, cumbersome, and, in a way weak, but there is only one way to take the *ut*-clause, that is, as a clause of result.

Your way is utterly impossible (*ea* by itself negatives all you say). I know of no authority whatever for taking the *ut*-clause as a causal clause in *Oratio Obliqua*. There is no use of *ut* known to me which is in any way comparable to the use of *quod*, in the sense of 'because he says (said), they say (said)', 'because he thinks (thought), they think (thought)', in *Oratio Obliqua*.

In one sense you were thinking along right lines. Cicero COULD have written something like this: *Atque ea lenitate senatus usus est ut, quod <or cum> either would mean 'since'> arbitrabatur sic <arbitraretur> sic <or ita, 'by this process'> rem publicam servari mentesque reliquorum sanari posse arbitaretur, novem tantum ex... puniret, or ut, quod re publica conservata mentes reliquorum sanari posse arbitrabatur, novem, etc.*

The best form for Cicero's whole idea would be something like this:

Atque ea lenitate senatus usus est ut, quod (cum) poena paucorum mentibus reliquorum sanatis rem publicam servari posse arbitrabatur, ex tanta coniuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem tantum (modo, solos) perditissimos homines puniret.

In conclusion, I wish to comment on one point in my correspondent's attempted explanation of the passage.

If it were at all possible to regard the *ut*-clause as a causal clause in Oratio Obliqua, then *ut* would in itself mean, what *quod* often means, 'because, so they said (thought)...'. In a causal *ut*-clause in Oratio Obliqua *arbitraretur* would, in strictness, be a wholly unnecessary, a totally illogical addition, since the idea of *arbitraretur* would be already present in the *ut*-clause with its subjunctive verb.

It is well known, however, that in *quod*-causal clauses of the type that require the subjunctive, because they are in Oratio Obliqua, the illogical introduction of a form of *dico*, or *puto*, *credo*, and the like in the subjunctive occurs. The matter is noted in Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 541, Note 3, page 341. An example will be found in Caesar, De Bello Gallico 1.27.4... *sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio adficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine didicitorum suam fugam aut occulti aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, ... e castris... egressi... contenderunt*. Here, if the verb *existimo* was to appear in the *quod*-clause at all, it should have been in the indicative mood, because this verb by its very meaning gives the effect of Oratio Obliqua. Caesar's words give us double Oratio Obliqua. In De Bello Gallico 2.15.4... *quod eis rebus Nervii relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent*, we have formal Oratio Obliqua; hence this example cannot be surely regarded as an instance in point. A striking passage is De Bello Gallico 1.23.3 Helvetii, *seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, ... coeperunt*. Here the subjunctive in the clauses *seu quod... existimarent* and *sive quod... confiderent* is a blunder. How the blunder came about is explainable easily enough, especially since within a few words Caesar was to use, quite legitimately, *quod* alone with a clause in Oratio Obliqua (*eo magis quod... commisissent*).

CHARLES KNAPP

FIVE CAMPAIGNS OF EXCAVATION AT CORINTH SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

(Concluded from page 126)

THE COINS

The excavations at Corinth described in this article have yielded 13,500 coins, mostly bronze with a few silver pieces, which come out of the ground in a badly corroded condition. These coins are rarely legible until they have been thoroughly cleaned. In the past this cleaning process has been one of the most onerous tasks of an excavation. After two seasons of discouraging results in attempting to handle the great number at Corinth by the methods commonly employed there came into my hands the pamphlet written by Professor Fink³², of Columbia University, to describe the electrolytic method he had devised for

cleaning ancient bronzes for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. As Professor Fink gives accurate details of his process, it was simple to set up an identical apparatus. This was done for me in 1927 by Professor William Foster, of the Department of Chemistry at Princeton University, and the results were so satisfactory that the apparatus was sent to Corinth, and for the past three seasons only this method of cleaning the coins has been used. Not only has the percentage of legibility been thus vastly increased, but an immense amount of hard manual labor is avoided, for, instead of hours spent on difficult careful rubbing of the object, by the new method the corrosion becomes a black spongy mass which falls off automatically or is easily removed with a brush. Mr. W. A. Campbell is engaged in cleaning, cataloguing, and studying this material in preparation for its publication. The quantity is so great that safe conclusions should be reached eventually not only as to the relative importance of successive periods in the history of the city, but also, within reasonable limits, as to the extent of the city's commercial connections with foreign lands. The data available at the present time indicate that three groups of coins are numerically outstanding, Corinthian coins of the Greek period, from the fifth to the second century B. C., coins of Constantius II, of the fourth century A. D., and those of Manuel I, Byzantine Emperor of the twelfth century. But earlier Corinthian periods are well represented, as are also the successive epochs of the Roman dominion of the city. The total lack of coins of certain periods would imply the occasional abandonment of the site. The most serious problem that has so far arisen in this study is presented by a hoard of seventy-three bronze coins that were found in a Byzantine house above the east *parodos*. The hoard is dated in the eleventh century by the presence of three imperial Byzantine pieces, but, in spite of this clue to their date and in spite of the topographical delimitation suggested by the Arabic inscriptions which some of them bear, the coins have not yet been localized or identified by numismatic specialists. The characteristic designs are elephants and winged lions. The letters of the inscriptions are clear to the Arabic scholars who have been consulted, but they can not recognize any word except the name *Allah* that is written across the body of one of the elephants. As a crusaders' coin is included in the group, the possibility is suggested that they were brought back from the Near East by some soldier of the first Crusade. The publication of a photograph of some of these coins in my report of the campaign of 1928 has not yet elicited any information on the subject³⁷.

THE TERRACOTTAS

Some fine pieces of archaic terracotta architectural revetment were secured in the theater district, which are conspicuous for gracefulness of shape and for brilliance of color³⁸. There are also numerous terracotta figurines. The primitive type is a standing figure with round solid body, crudely formed extended forearms, and a shapeless head that is finished in front

³²Colin G. Fink and Charles H. Eldridge, The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes and Other Alloys: First Report (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1925). C. K.

³⁷32 (1928), 481, 482, Figure 5.

by the pinching of the clay into a beak-like nose²⁹. A decorative effect is achieved by representing the eyes as red discs and by painting red bands about the body. The superficial deposit of earth over the entire site of the *cavea* and the orchestra contained archaic terracottas, of which the most common type is a horse and rider. But there are also other animals and birds, especially the dog, the deer, and the dove. The human figures most numerous represented are women wearing a *polos* on the head (these either stand or sit on a throne), and women in erect posture who clasp a dove to the breast. These terracottas are dedicatory offerings. As Roman and Byzantine objects were found in the earth beneath them, it is clear that they were dumped here at a comparatively late clearance of some neighboring area. The classical Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman periods are well represented in the series of figurines, which usually can be approximately dated by means of the objects with which they are associated. Thus a group of figures of women reclining on a couch was lying in a chamber with a number of coins of Corinth and Sicyon that are dated in the fourth and the third centuries B. C. Other figurines came from graves that contained also pottery of the fifth and the fourth centuries. Still other figurines lay beneath the seats of the theater which was constructed in the first half of the fourth century B. C. Ample chronological evidence of this sort is available which, in conjunction with the facts that the figures are made of Corinthian clay and that both trial casts and moulds have been found, proves that the manufacture of terracottas at Corinth was a thriving industry throughout the history of the city and nullifies the statement of A. Köster that this manufacture ceased not long after the middle of the fifth century B. C.³⁰

The large collection of lamps that was secured dates from successive periods beginning with the sixth century B. C. Those that were found prior to 1929 have been included by Mr. Oscar Broneer in his thorough and systematic study of the lamps of Corinth³¹; those from the subsequent campaigns will be published in the books on the theater and on the north cemetery. The importance of this series of lamps is increased by the fact that many of them are from datable deposits, such as graves in which silver and bronze coins had also been placed. The last campaign produced a fine set of the Roman period, many of them found with Roman coins that date them; these were decorated with graceful figures or with mythological groups and were signed on the bottom with the names of the makers.

²⁹Art and Archaeology 23 (1927), 110.

³⁰33 (1929), 529, Figure 11; Art and Archaeology 23 (1927), 115.

³¹Die Griechischen Terrakotten, 61 (Berlin, Hanz Schoetz and Company, 1926).

³²Thirteen volumes dealing with different aspects of the excavations at Corinth are in preparation, all to be published, for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, by the Harvard University Press. The following parts of these volumes have been issued: III, Part I, Acrocorinth, Excavations in 1926, Carl W. Blegen, Richard Stillwell, Oscar Broneer, and Alfred R. Bellinger (1930). Pp. vi + 68. 60 Illustrations, 8 Plans. \$5.00; IV, Part I, Decorated Architectural Terracottas, Ida C. Thallon and Lida S. King (1929). Pp. xii + 120. 48 Illustrations, 5 Colored Plates. \$5.00; IV, Part II, Terracotta Lamps, Oscar Broneer (1930). Pp. xx + 339. 210 Illustrations, 33 Plates. \$5.00; V, The Roman Villa, Theodore Leslie Shear (1930). Pp. 26. 7 Illustrations, 12 Plates. \$5.00. C. K. >

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Much pottery was scattered throughout the terrain under investigation, but, as this was usually in a fragmentary condition and as a great quantity of beautiful vases was secured in another area of the site, the ceramic material will be reserved for subsequent discussion. Mention, however, may be made in passing of a black-figured fragment with a spirited representation of Pegasus which is specially interesting because of the association of this animal with the legends of the city³². It was probably part of the shield of Athena on a Parathenaic amphora like one in the National Museum at Madrid³³. Principally from the theater district came the pieces of signed Arretine ware which, so far as they were available at the end of the season of 1928, have been published by Mr. Howard Comfort³⁴.

Besides the groups of objects that have been mentioned, excavations yield many products of antiquity that are listed in the daily field-record under the category of 'miscellaneous finds'. These at Corinth include a primitive marble idol, stone celts, obsidian and flint blades, obsidian and bronze arrow points, bronze spear-heads, bone and ivory pins, gold and silver earrings, gold, electrum, silver and bronze finger rings, seal rings, bronze bracelets, bronze stick pins, bronze and ivory brooches, necklaces of glass beads, and other simple jewelry. But these objects, great though their range is, represent only the casual survivals from the personal and household equipment of a succession of peoples over many centuries of time.

THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA CHALINITIS

Pausanias, in the description of his visit to Corinth, states that adjoining the theater was the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis³⁵. Since this site is undoubtedly identical with that of Athena Hippias mentioned by Pindar³⁶, the sanctuary was important in the early history of the city and is associated with the legend of Bellerophon and Pegasus. Investigations southeast of the theater revealed a precinct wall of large extent enclosing some foundations of buildings³⁷. Many small vases and terracottas of the type used for dedications indicate the presence of a sanctuary. Though evidence is lacking for a definite identification, it is probable that the altar of Athena was located in the precinct that has been uncovered.

THE ROMAN VILLA

About a kilometer west of the theater on the road to Sicyon a private house was excavated during the season of 1925³⁸. The five rooms that are preserved have their floors laid with mosaics representing pictures and elaborate linear designs. Since a description of this building has just been published by me with large plates reproducing accurately in colors the original floors³⁹, it will be sufficient to give here only a brief

³²33 (1929), 519, Figure 3.

³³aCorpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Espagne, Madrid, Musée Archéologique National, I, III, He, Plates 27, 1a and 28.2 (Paris, Librairie Champion, 1930).

³⁴33 (1929), 484-501; 30 (1926), 445-447. See Figure 2.

³⁵2.4.5.

³⁶Olympia 13.92.

³⁷30 (1926), 444-445. See Figure 1.

³⁸29 (1925), 391-397.

³⁹Corinth, V, The Roman Villa (see note 31, above).

description. The floor of the large atrium, which is laid about a central water-basin, has at its four corners squares of linear patterns and on each side a panel picture set in elaborate decorative borders. Two of the pictures have entirely disappeared, one is partly destroyed, but the fourth is preserved practically intact. It portrays a youthful herdsman who plays a flute as he stands beneath the branches of a tree. Beside him are three oxen one of which has his back to the spectator; on the right is a sloping hillside. Although the motive of the pose of the standing youth may be derived from a statue of Praxitelean type, as is suggested by Mr. W. Deonna³⁹, the present composition is wholly pictorial and the mosaic must have had a painting as its immediate source. Noticeable stylistic peculiarities are foreshortening in the treatment of the legs of the youth, the perspective of the cattle, their dark color, and the absence of all high lights. Since these characteristics are exactly those attributed by Pliny the Elder to the style of the painter Pausias⁴⁰, it seems to me a reasonable suggestion that the mosaic is a copy of a painting by Pausias or by a member of his school that flourished in the neighboring town of Sicyon in the fourth century B. C. The floor of a small room opening from the atrium is composed of panels of linear design surrounding a standing figure of Dionysus, which is badly damaged. The dominant colors of the stones are pink and yellow, so that a soft and delicate glow is shed over the entire composition. The large dining-room has as its main decoration in the center of the room a picture of Europa sitting on the bull, which has just entered the blue water of the sea. The composition of the figures, which is different from that of other representations of the group, and the distribution of the colors are artistically effective and again point to a noted painting as an original source. A small room that opens from the dining-room has a perfectly preserved mosaic floor, composed of a series of complicated designs arranged about a large circle, at the center of which is a small circle that is filled by a head of Dionysus. The treatment of the eyes, the delicate coloring of the cheeks, and the ornamental crown of fruit and flowers mark this as a copy in stone of a painting of high artistic excellence. The subject, too, recalls the fact that Pausias painted numerous portraits of Glycera, the wreath-binder of Sicyon. This work is reproduced in color in my book on the Villa (see note 38), in the exact size of the original. The fifth room of the building is paved with a floor of geometric designs with a central square that is filled by four hundred small squares. The variety and the distribution of the colors produce the effect of a large Turkish rug.

The Villa was a magnificent house in the Roman period, but several pieces of evidence indicate that the floors antedate that time. Structurally some of the present walls cut off integral parts of the mosaic patterns, so that walls and floors were not simultaneously planned. Also objects of the Greek period, coins, pottery, and lamps, were found just outside the walls. Finally, the mosaic pictures and designs are

stylistically similar to the hellenistic mosaics found at Delos. My conclusion, therefore, is that the mosaic floors were built for a house of the Greek period that was destroyed at the time of the destruction of the city, and that they were subsequently re-used in a Roman house constructed on the site in the time of the restoration. The mosaic pictures would by this reasoning be copies of lost Hellenistic paintings.

THE NORTH CEMETERY

An ancient building such as a temple or a theater or a private house has passed through such vicissitudes of plunder and burning, of demolitions and reconstructions that objects discovered in and about it are usually in a fragmentary condition. On the other hand, if an un-rifled tomb is found, its contents are generally intact. An ideal archaeological campaign, therefore, combines the clearance of a monumental building and the excavation of graves. With this aim in view I have made explorations for tombs during the years of the excavation of the theater. In 1928 I began systematic clearance of a cemetery that is located in the plain about three-quarters of a mile northwest of the theater. In this region graves had long ago been detected by peasants engaged in planting vines and a number had been successfully excavated in 1915 and 1916 by Dr. B. H. Hill and Dr. W. B. Dinsmoor. In the past three seasons 468 burials have been opened in this area under the supervision of Miss Josephine Platner⁴¹. 113 more were uncovered near a hillock a little further west, called from a former owner Cheliotomylos, in a branch of last year's campaign that was supervised by Dr. H. A. Thompson and Mr. F. O. Waage. These 581 graves, very few of which had been rifled, have yielded a great amount of material that is important historically and is artistically beautiful. As the various deposits illustrate the continuity of the occupation of the site, this material will be briefly described in its chronological sequence.

That a large neolithic settlement, antedating 2500 B. C.⁴², existed here is proved by many pot-sherds that were lying beneath later graves and at a depth of from ten to eighteen feet below the present level of the ground. No evidence appeared of the existence of houses or of graves of this epoch, but the sherds were abundantly scattered wherever wide pits could be dug in the intervals of the hard-pan, and they continued to be found down to the depth where digging was checked by the presence of water.

Fragments of pottery of the Early Helladic period, 2500 to 2000 B. C., occurred sporadically in the earlier levels of the main excavation, but a large deposit of this epoch filled a well-shaft cut in the rock below the hillock of Cheliotomylos. The shaft, which was about three feet in diameter and fifty-five feet deep, yielded objects belonging to this one period only. Several vases were found intact and forty-two others have been pieced together with practical completeness from the

³⁹Art and Archaeology 29 (1930), 195-202, 257-265.

⁴⁰The dates of the period are those established by Dr. Carl Blegen, in Korakou, A Prehistoric Settlement Near Corinth, 123 (Boston and New York, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1921).

⁴¹Revue Archéologique 23 (1926), 330-352.

⁴²35.123.

many sherds. Although twelve shapes of vases are represented, two groups are conspicuous for their numbers, the bowls and the sauceboats, with fifteen and seventeen examples respectively. The bowl is of a simple shape and of a common type, but the vase that is called a "sauceboat" by Dr. Carl Blegen is a vessel of curious shape, with an open bowl and a long spout with high wings on either side of the tip so that liquid, when poured, is prevented from overflowing⁴¹. It is a convenient and practical shape, but it does not appear to have been used after the Early Helladic period. Besides the pottery other objects in this well were a long bronze needle, a highly polished bone pin, obsidian blades, terracotta spindle whorls, a small terracotta anchor, bones of animals, and twenty human skeletons which lay at a depth of about forty feet. The bones are fairly well preserved. The skulls belong by their measurements to the dolichocephalic group.

Many typical graves of the Middle Helladic period, 2000 to 1600 B. C., were disclosed about seven feet below ground-level in a trench of the main excavation. The bodies lay in the earth on their sides in contracted position and were covered usually by two large slabs of stone. Vases were regularly placed in front of the face; in some instances a cup was pressed against the mouth. The pottery is hand-made and is decorated simply with bands, triangles, and half-circles painted in black and brown. The common shapes are a long-spouted pitcher, a two-handled bowl, and a cup with a loop handle that extends above the rim, a type that is peculiar to this period. These burials also contained other offerings of much interest, such as the gold diadem of thin plate with a repoussé design that was found still adhering to a woman's skull, and the large bronze circlets that were evidently used in women's hair. There were also finger rings, bracelets, and stick pins of bronze in the graves of women, and a bronze dagger that was buried with a man, as well as terracotta spools and spindle whorls.

Only fragments of pottery gave evidence of a Late Helladic settlement, 1600 to 1100 B. C., but these were scattered freely over the west part of the area, Cheliotomylos, and there is every reason to expect that further investigation in the neighborhood will bring to light the characteristic chamber tombs of the period. The flourishing civilization of the Mycenaean Age was brought to an end here as elsewhere in the Aegean basin by disturbed political events and the inroad of an alien element of population. These changes are mirrored in a different type of burial and in a new form of pottery that is called geometric, from its typical linear decoration (this belongs to 1100 to 800 B. C.). The graves were the deepest of any so far found, being situated about ten feet below the level of the ground. They are earth burials oriented north and south, with the body lying in contracted position on its side and the head invariably at the south end. One long heavy slab of sandstone is used as a cover, but commonly just south of it a small block of similar stone is placed as a

kind of pillow beneath which the offerings were deposited. Vases of many shapes were secured, including the crater, amphora, oenochoe, bowls with and without handles, a spacious mug, and a vessel in the shape of a pomegranate. Large vases that could not be accommodated in the graves were placed on the outside, at either end. Infants were buried in big craters which were covered by blocks of stone. The transition from the geometric to the succeeding epoch is marked by a small group of vases and by a change in the method of interment, for the earth burial is abandoned and the body is placed in a coffin that is made of slabs of unbaked clay and is covered by a block of sandstone. The impractical nature of this container soon led to a further change, to a stone coffin that is cut from a single block of soft limestone, poros, and is covered by a poros slab. This is the regular method of burial from the seventh century onwards, although in the fifth and the fourth centuries the earth burial again appears as an alternative method of a cheaper type. The discovery of such a large quantity of geometric ware within a comparatively small area, the fact that it is made of Corinthian clay, and the representation of types of transition to the following Proto-corinthian period prove that these fabrics are of local manufacture, and thus settle a much debated archaeological problem. The origin of vases of this kind, which have appeared sporadically in many parts of the Greek world, has been attributed to various cities, the claim of one of which, Sicyon, has recently been so firmly advocated by Mr. K. F. Johansen that he calls his book on the subject *Les Vases Sicyoniens* (Paris, Edouard Champion, 1923). But little excavation has been done at Sicyon and definite proof of that site as the place of discovery can scarcely be adduced for a single member of the group, while the overwhelming nature of the evidence for Corinth may be appreciated from the fact that among the vases from the north cemetery are examples similar to every type shown by Johansen on his Plates, prior to the long series of specimens of super-fine Proto-corinthian style, excepting two curiously decorated pitchers from Cumae. The vases illustrated by Johansen were found at the Argive Heraeum, Athens, Corinth, Cumae, Delos, Delphi, Eleusis, Gela, Melos, Phaleron, Sicyon, Syracuse, Thebes, Thera, and Vulci, but now the few trenches of the north cemetery of Corinth have produced parallels to all these widely scattered discoveries. The name Sicyonian, which should never have been applied to the group, must finally give place to the correct appellations, Corinthian Geometric and Proto-corinthian. Thus this archaeological problem may be considered as definitely solved.

The characteristic Corinthian type of ware that is decorated by bands of animals and birds, sphinxes and sirens, which are often fantastic in appearance and reveal oriental influence, is illustrated by many fine vases from the cemetery, which date from the seventh and the sixth centuries. The most common shapes are the oenochoe, pyxis, saucer, cylix, aryballos, and alabastrum, but there is also one beautiful amphora, decorated with cocks and palmettes, on which the red and blue colors are brilliantly preserved. Coffins with

⁴¹The shape is illustrated by Dr. Blegen, in *Zygouries, A Pre-historic Settlement in the Valley of Cleonae*, 88-92, Figures 78-81 (Harvard University Press, 1928).

Corinthian pottery were on the same level with and adjacent to those containing the small Proto-corinthian lecythi, which they obviously immediately succeed in age. A development of style within the limits of the group is evident at a glance and will be clearly demonstrated by the careful study that is now being made by Miss Platner of the large amount of material that is available. This analysis is facilitated by the evidence of objects associated with Corinthian vases in specific graves. Early in the sixth century imported Attic ware appears frequently in Corinth, and from that time on Athens gradually supplants Corinth as the center of the manufacture of pottery for the Greek world. But it is interesting to note that at least one Corinthian vase is always found in graves containing Attic ware. The most important Attic piece from the cemetery is a cylix signed by Neandros, the only complete vase by this master that is so far known⁴³. Another handsome cylix, which is not signed, is decorated exactly in the style of the artist Tleson⁴⁴. Several others have inscriptions or meaningless combinations of letters. There are also Attic black-figured lecythi and scyphi.

Importations from places other than Athens have occasionally appeared, as the Egyptian scarab of the Saitic period, which was the sole object in a woman's grave⁴⁵. As it was lying by her throat, it had evidently been suspended around her neck as an amulet. A most interesting imported Lydian vase came to light in last season's campaign. In the time of the tyrants, Lydia and Corinth were cordially associated, for we know that Periander acted as arbitrator between Lydia and Miletus⁴⁶. According to Herodotus, he sent slaves to Sardis⁴⁷. Croesus deposited his splendid offerings to Delphi in the treasury of the Corinthians. The American excavators at Sardis found some Corinthian vases⁴⁸, but, although I had been carefully on the watch for traces of Lydian ware at Corinth, not a single sherd had appeared in the excavations until the day last spring when a complete vase was turned up in the earth beside a coffin that had been previously opened. The shape is typically Lydian, a *crateriscus*, as are also the gray color, and the clay which is sprinkled with specks of mica, a pronounced characteristic of the clay of Sardis⁴⁹. So far as evidence is available, this is the first Lydian vase that has been found on the Greek mainland.

The later graves, which date from the end of the fifth and from the beginning of the fourth century, do not lack in interest, although they are less important than those of the earlier periods. They are often approximately dated by the presence of Corinthian silver obols and they throw light on the burial customs of the people. Very commonly one vase was broken when the offerings were deposited, and I am informed by several members of the Greek clergy that this custom is still practiced at funerals in some parts of Greece to-day. A usual dedication is a complete shell

of a hen's egg which is placed either in a vase or beside it, and occasionally a sea-shell of graceful shape and delicate color is carefully deposited with the vases. A pyxis, toilet-box, is frequently found in the coffins of women; inside some of them cubes of talcum were still preserved. The men, on the other hand, often have their bronze strigils with them. The presence of ten strigils in the grave of a small child implies a belief that the child would grow up and require them in another life. A similar interpretation must be given to the beautiful bronze Corinthian helmet of full-size that was placed in the grave of another child. The terracotta lamps which are often found with the dead are apparently a ritual reminiscence of the custom of burning the dead. The graves are oriented north to south and east to west, and with few exceptions the bodies are placed with the heads either to the south or to the east. The careful scrutiny that is given to all the bones resulted in the observation of two interesting pathological conditions by which death was probably induced. In one case a cavity in a tooth which had not been treated had caused a large abscess in the jaw, and in the other instance an unerupted upper molar had developed an irritation that caused a cancerous growth in the antrum. The skeletons show variations in size such as might occur to-day, with a normal proportion of large men who, in some cases, were more than six feet tall.

The area investigated was not used for burials after the fourth century until the Roman encroachment in the time of Augustus. Strabo reports that the Roman colonists, who were sent out to resettle the city after 46 B. C., found rich graves of the Corinthians, the contents of which were so profitably sold in Rome that no grave was left unripped⁵⁰. The poet Krinagoras, who visited Corinth during this spoliation, refers to it bitterly in an epigram of the anthology⁵¹. The north cemetery, however, was not the scene of this systematic spoliation of graves, but the evidence shows that, when the Romans required a coffin for burial purposes, they exhumed a Corinthian sarcophagus, shoved the existing bones to the bottom or to one side, removed the offerings, and inserted the Roman body with some cheap pottery. Superstitious reasons probably account for two exceptional cases where the Corinthian pottery was not stolen, but was left outside the coffin, aligned with precision along its walls. The date of this violation, which is attested by five lamps of the Augustan period, agrees with the time of the pillaging that is mentioned by Strabo, but in this area, at least, the propelling motive was the need of a coffin rather than the desire for plunder, for unripped Corinthian graves stand close beside those that were entered by the Romans. The Roman offerings consist chiefly of cheap clay tear bottles, but one grave contained, in addition to four tear bottles, a terracotta coin-box that is pear-shaped with a knob at the top, below which is the slot to receive the coins⁵².

Besides their re-use of Greek graves the Romans had a large cemetery in the west area, Cheliotomylos, where three types of burials appear, chamber tombs,

⁴³33 (1929), 536, Figure 18.

⁴⁴Art and Archaeology 29 (1930), 262, Figure 21.

⁴⁵Ibidem, 262, Figure 20.

⁴⁶See P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, 191 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922).

⁴⁷H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, 1.119, Figure 125 (Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1922).

⁴⁸See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 17 (1924), 186-188.

⁴⁹5.6.23.

⁵⁰Anthologia Palatina 9.284.

⁵¹33 (1929), 544, Figure 23.

stone sarcophagi, and tile burials. The discoveries include undecorated pottery in numerous shapes, some glass bottles, terracotta statuettes and a collection of lamps which is important because of the decorations on the discs, because of the makers' names on the bottoms, and because in many cases the lamps were associated with coins that fix their date. Two other objects of special interest are a baby's rattle and a toy horse⁵⁴. The horse, which is 9½ inches long, is made of terracotta that is covered with a white slip with traces of pink on the mane, forelock, eyes, and nostrils. Red and orange are also used for painting the bridle and the collar. Wheels, attached to axles, take the place of legs, and the nose is pierced by a hole so that the steed can be drawn by a string. It is dated in the time of Nero by two bronze coins which were with it in the grave. To the same period belongs the rattle which has the shape of a crouching negro boy, whose chin rests on his knees, while the cheeks are supported by the clenched fists. The rattle is produced by two clay pellets in the inside. The work, which is well modeled and carefully finished, is covered with varnished black paint to imitate the glossy color of the negro's skin. It reflects credit on the skill of the master who made it, Philocides, whose name is inscribed on the bottom. The same baby's grave contained a terracotta statuette of Eros signed by Theopompos.

CONCLUSION

In this statement of the results of five campaigns of excavation at Corinth I have sought to present only the more important phases of the work, with avoidance of the mass of details which will be studied for publication in several volumes of the series of Corinth publications that is being issued by the Harvard University Press for the American School at Athens⁵⁵. It has shown, however, that results of the first importance have been achieved in various branches of archaeology—architecture, sculpture, painting, mosaics, pottery lamps, and coins—and has abundantly demonstrated that Corinth, once wealthy city of the double sea, is still in spite of pillage and earthquake one of the most promising sites in Greece for archaeological investigation.

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THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR

A CORRECTION

In my review of Mr. Edward Lucas White's book, *Why Rome Fell*, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 24.84-87, there occurs (85) this sentence: "...the political history of the Empire has little attraction for him and is jammed in the most perfunctory fashion into another chapter..." To this was added a note, numbered 8, "This takes in the entire period from 29 B. C. to 476 A. D.! Naturally it is a mere digest of the account in some encyclopedia. I find it difficult to understand how, in view of his interest in the fall of Rome, the author justified to himself the omission of any serious discussion of the period after Augustus..."

I have received from Mr. White a letter which is too long to reproduce in full here, but which deserves

⁵⁴The Illustrated London News, August 9, 1930, page 247, Figures 12, 14.

⁵⁵See note 31, above.

citation for its admirable fairness and lack of personal rancor. It reads in part thus:

"Your review of *Why Rome Fell* is manifestly sincere and spontaneous. Moreover, it is just the sort of review that I anticipated from any typical classicist, even before I began to write *Why Rome Fell*, even when I was little advanced in outlining my intentions. Such a review must be at large accepted as written, but I cannot but take issue with you on some minor points.... Your footnote 8 does me less than justice. It says: '...Naturally it is a mere digest of the account in some encyclopedia...' I did not rely on or so much as refer to any encyclopedia; my account of the rise of Rome is a concise presentation of my composite memories of the many histories of Rome I have read since 1875.... After the two paragraphs in my Introduction, the fourth and fifth, and page 150, it seems to me that it should have seemed to you quite natural that Chapter XIV, *The Empire*, should be just what it is.

Now it seems to me that a man with the foundation of knowledge of Roman history which I had before I started to write *Why Rome Fell* does not deserve to be twitted with a conjecture that he had depended entirely on "a mere digest of the account in some encyclopedia..." I surmise that your conjecture was caused by the difference between what you consider germane and what I, with care and deliberately, sifted out of what I knew of the facts as pertinent to my purpose. See again my Introduction, paragraphs 4 and 5. These paragraphs set forth my abiding convictions as to what ought to be and what ought not to be in a history of Rome for the general public."

The only fair answer from the reviewer to such a letter is an apology, and this I offer to Mr. White, simply and without reservation. I should not have written the sentence, "...Naturally it is a mere digest of the account in some encyclopedia..."

In all other respects, however, Mr. White's letter but proved how irreconcilable are the points of view of the author and the reviewer on what constitutes fundamental historical fact.

The two paragraphs in the Introduction to *Why Rome Fell* to which Mr. White refers in his letter are as follows: "Most, if not all, recent histories of Rome are encumbered with detailed accounts of the recurrent squabbles at Rome between the patricians and the plebeians, the aristocracy and the commonalty, the nobles and the populace, the rich and the poor; of the endless discussions and wrangles about proposed legislation.

Buried beneath and among such obscuring accumulations no average reader can discern, let alone discern, the momentous occurrences which mark the progressive extension and consolidation of Rome's external power; therefore few readers of such histories can derive from them any genuine comprehension of the causes of the majestic march of the growth of Rome's empire."

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

ROMULUS AND THE PALATINE

IN *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 24.101 Professor DeWitt writes as follows: "The famous augury of Romulus is, to be sure, associated with the summit of the Palatine..." It seems a little strange that he should say no more than this about Romulus's augury. The verses in which Ennius¹ describes this event are well known (... At Romulus pulcher in alto quaerit Aven-

¹Annales 79-94 (in J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* [Leipzig, Teubner, 1903]). The verses may also be found as *Annales*, Fragment 27, in Ernst Diehl, *Poetarum Romanorum Veterum Reliquiae* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1911). The verses are cited by Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.107-108.

tino . . .). Merlin, in his monograph on the Aventine², says that the augur Messala, consul in 53 B.C., was the first to connect Romulus with the Aventine. This of course does not in any way impair Professor De Witt's argument, but it would seem that, if Romulus's augury is mentioned at all, a form of the legend about it which is earlier than that seen e.g. in Livy should be mentioned.

BARNARD COLLEGE,
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GERTRUDE HIRST

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The first luncheon meeting of The New York Classical Club for the season 1930-1931 was held at the Casa Italiana, Columbia University, November 15, 1930. The speaker was Professor Norman De Witt, of Victoria College, University of Toronto; his subject was Vergil and Epicureanism. The auditorium was almost completely filled.

At the luncheon which followed there were 110 members and friends. Three short talks were given. Professor Wilhelm Kroll, of the University of Breslau and Princeton University, spoke on Vergil's charm of language and expression. Professor Sophie Chautal Hart, of Wellesley College, spoke of a course in the Greek dramatists offered at Wellesley. It is sad to report that the course is in English. Professor Wilbur L. Carr, now of Teachers College, Columbia University, responded to President Beatrice Stepanek's address welcoming him to his new surroundings. Miss Edna White, former President of the Club, spoke on the Second Vergilian Cruise of 1930.

MORRIS HIGH SCHOOL,
NEW YORK CITY

EDWARD COYLE, *Censor*

²Alfred Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, 250, n. 6 (Paris, Librairie des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1906). Merlin makes his statement about Messala on the basis of Gellius 13.4.5.

A SPANISH PARALLEL

In Petronius 44.17-18, we read as follows:

... Nemo enim caelum caelum putat, nemo Iovem pili facit, sed omnes opertis oculis bona sua computant. Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant. Itaque statim urceatim plovebat—aut tunc aut numquam; et omnes ridebant, udi tamquam mures. Itaque dii pedes lanatos habent, quia nos religiosi non sumus. Agri iacent. . . .

We may render this as follows:

'For no one thinks there's a heaven above us, nobody cares a pin for Jupiter, but they all hide their eyes and count their gains. It used to be that the ladies in their long dresses would go barefoot up the hill with their long hair down and with clean hearts, and they'd pray Jove for rain. And it would rain, too, right away, and buckets of it—then or never; and everyone laughed, wet as mice. So the gods have their feet all wrapped up now, because we aren't pious. The land's just lying—

With this speech of Ganymedes compare that of Santita, in *Puebla de las Mujeres*¹ (by Serafín y Joaquín Álvarez Quintero), Act I: "Qué cinismo, señor, qué cinismo!! Luego quieren que llueva!! Tiene que castigarnos Dios!" 'What shamelessness, sir, what shamelessness! Then they want it to rain! God has to punish us!'

In this winter of 1931, in a farming county that has seen almost no rain for a year, one is tempted to think that Santita is right. Nowadays one looks for relief to Congress, qui pedes lanatos habent. Agri iacent. . . . Perhaps we should try Ganymedes's religious procession.

MACMURRAY COLLEGE,
JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

MARY JOHNSTON

¹An English version of *Puebla de las Mujeres*, with the title *The Women Have Their Way*, by Helen and Hartley Granville-Barker, was first presented in New York, at the Civic Repertory Theater, on Monday evening, January 27, 1930.